1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [129] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay, a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the present study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[237] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing 854 as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 143 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes [826] known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily *565 514 sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toi- [124] let facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically every- *565 one knows what a toilet is, and there are several different 291 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The con- [515] struction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been [513] known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOil Bahia Brazilians SOil

APPENDIX A

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF A COLORED CITIZEN

159
[124]

The following autobiographical sketch was written by a man who is one of Bahia's leading colored citizens, a very dark mulatto referred to in Bahia as a *preto* or, literally, a "black":

I was born of modest parents. My father was a white man, an educated gentleman from a family of agriculturists, or "Senhores de Engenho," in the Reconcavo near Santo Amaro. My mother was a black woman, a person of notable beauty among her race. Domingas was her name.

Until I was ten years of age, I lived in Santo Amaro and its vicinity, at that time the richest area of sugar-cane cultivation in the state of Bahia. In 1865, when I was ten years old—for I was born on January 7, 1855—my father took me to Rio de Janeiro, where I finished my elementary education and prepared myself for secondary schooling in the Collegio de São Salvador, which was at that time under the direction of Monsenhor José Joaquim da Fonseca Lima, an illustrious priest, later *reitor* of the Collegio Dom Pedro II, the foremost secondary school in Brazil.

I owe what I know of the Humanities to my dear Masters at the Collegio de São Salvador, whom I later joined as teacher when, in 1871, at seventeen years of age, I entered the Escola Politecnica (then Escola Central) to take a course in Civil Engineering. I had among my teachers in the Escola Central the most eminent intellectual and scientific men of that time in Brazil, including Manoel da Cunha Galvão, Americo Monteiro de Barros, João Eugenio de Lossie e Seylbits, Carneiro, Saldanha da Gama, Villa Nova Machado, André Rebouças, Joaquim Murtinho, Visconde do Rio Branco, Borgia Castro, Sousa Pitanga, and Holanda Cavalcanti, all of whom were men of great

5: Azevedo--1 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/5/

Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

• 124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

5: Azevedo--2 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/5 cont./

124 in Bahia society. Out of 48 of the individuals mentioned above, with whom I maintained more or less close relations, I interviewed 25 personally and I chose 20 among 80 with whom I had not had any contact; the other 11, almost all of them of the female sex, were interviewed by assistants connected with the investigation. We were thus able /6/ to talk to 20 Blacks and 36 mulattoes of different types, 12 of them women and 44 men who practiced the professions of lawyer, judge, physician, civil engineer, dentist, economist, professor, artist, contractor, merchant, official, not counting the priests and university students, several of whom, besides their principal occupations, devoted themselves to political, bureaucratic, educational, and social activities. Almost all the subjects in question are in modest circumstances, sometimes even very poor, and have attained positions of more or less great prestige. Their ages vary between 20 and 70 years, but with the majority ranging from 30 to 50. All are natives of Bahia or have lived there for a long time.

The interviews (1)

[113]

1. On the techniques and advantages of this kind of interview, cf. Clyde Kluckholn /sic/, "The Personal Document in Anthropological Science," in The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, "Social Science Research Council Bulletin," New York, 1945, p. 125.

dealt with race relations and color prejudices, and stressed the problem of social ascent; the most complete freedom of expression was allowed the informants. The investigator interrupted only in order to prevent the conversation from digressing. It was almost always necessary at one time or another to bring the informant back to his subject, in order to obtain a continuous account.

[SALVADOR]

• 124 /6/ Let us remark in passing that among the individuals questioned a large number, in spite of their high intellectual level, experienced some difficulty in expressing their point of view. Doubtless it was a matter of a defense reaction; but in many cases this hesitation is also due to the fact that these persons had never ascribed much importance to the question. These two interpretations, whatever they may be worth, are both significant with regard to race relations in Bahia.

The occasions when the spontaneity of the informants was tempered by mistrust were rare. Only two individuals evaded the interview: a Black belonging to a liberal profession, who showed great reserve, and a woman, a mulattress of light complexion, occupying an administrative post, who appeared irritated by the nature of the investigation, the interest of which she did not see.

For an accurate understanding of the facts, it is useful to recall that the interviews took place, in general, without a previous appointment. Several times, however, I notified our informants that I was engaged in an investigation of race relations and wished to know their opinion. Several interviews were obtained in the course of chance encounters and had the character of a simple conversation. In certain cases they were resumed for the requirements of this study, with the consent of the informants. Certain individuals acted as though it were /7/ difficult for them to enter upon "such a delicate matter"; nevertheless, on the whole, they proved as communicative as one could wish. The intentions of the investigators were generally well understood by the informants. Certain ones among them even seemed finally to have found the occasion, so often desired, to express their grievances or their personal views on their particular case as well as on the problem in general. The method of the interview, as far as one could judge, seemed to be very effective. It may be hoped that its use on a broader scale will furnish new elucidations on the same subject.

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126 As for the method of recording the interviews, the most important among them were transcribed by means of rapid notes taken during the conversation. On rare occasions the interview was transcribed in a more complete fashion. The reports were written up, with some exceptions, in the first hours following the meeting.

[SALVADOR]

/7 cont./

124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

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1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist, darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type; no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established between them and their companions at school and play, without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made at school with finos Whites. Even among the adults there are some who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation, because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude"; one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

/38 cont./

*563 565 554 571 •[124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

[162] The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/44 cont./

*563 59 being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

• [124] [565]

2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

*563 565 557 59 A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.

[SALVADOR]

/83 cont./

*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [301] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were: